

## Message Text

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

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NODIS  
CHEROKEE FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, XF, US

SUBJECT: MIDDLE EAST PEACE: MESSAGE FOR FAHD

1. HAVING RECEIVED ISRAELI RESPONSES TO OUR QUESTIONS ON THE WEST BANK, WE WISH TO MOVE ON TO NEXT STEPS IN THE PEACE PROCESS. AS A FIRST STEP, WE ARE CONSULTING ISRAELIS AND EGYPTIANS ABOUT DESIRABILITY OF EARLY MEETING OF EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KAMEL AND ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN WITH SECRETARY IN LONDON. WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO SET UP FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING FOR PERIOD FOLLOWING EUROPEAN SUMMIT JULY 13-17. WE HOPE  
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IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ANNOUNCE IT SHORTLY AFTER VICE PRESIDENT COMPLETES HIS TRIP TO ISRAEL AND EGYPT.

2. AT THIS TIME, IT IS CRITICAL THAT WE DO EVERYTHING WE CAN TO KEEP THE SAUDIS FROM MOVING AWAY FROM SUPPORT OF SADAT'S INITIATIVE TOWARD ADVOCACY OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES. WE FULLY APPRECIATE CONCERN FAHD AND OTHER

SAUDI LEADERS HAVE ABOUT NEED TO REBUILD ARAB CONSENSUS AND THE DIFFICULTY THAT SADAT'S INITIATIVE HAS POSED FOR THEM IN THIS REGARD. AT THE SAME TIME WE DO NOT BELIEVE THEY HAVE FULL APPRECIATION OF THE MOVEMENT WHICH SADAT HAS CREATED IN U.S. AND ISRAELI OPINION AND, IN PARTICULAR OF THE FACT THAT THE DIFFICULT DELIBERATIONS

NOW GOING ON WITHIN ISRAELI GOVERNMENT REPRESENT NOT STALEMATE, BUT FURTHER MOVEMENT IN THE PEACE PROCESS. AT THIS POINT WE WISH TO AVOID ANY SIGNAL TO SAUDI LEADERS THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO ENTERTAIN ALTERNATIVE NEGOTIATING PATHS AND WOULD PREFER TO KEEP THEIR THINKING FOCUSED ON HOW BEST TO SUSTAIN SADAT'S INITIATIVE. TO THIS END WE WISH TO BEGIN SHARING MORE FULLY WITH THEM OUR THINKING ON HOW BEST TO PROCEED. PARTICULARLY, WE WANT TO FURTHER PREPARE SAG FOR THE MOMENT WHEN WE MAY NEED TO SEIZE UPON FAHD'S STATED WILLINGNESS TO EXERT INFLUENCE ON JORDAN, THE PALESTINIANS, AND SYRIA. LOOKING AHEAD TO POSSIBLE VISIT BY SECRETARY TO THE AREA THIS SUMMER, WE WOULD LIKE THROUGH YOUR ON-GOING DISCUSSIONS WITH SAUDI LEADERSHIP TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR THIS ANTICIPATED DIALOGUE WHILE TRYING TO KEEP SAG FROM MOVING TOWARD INITIATIVES WHICH WOULD COMPLICATE OUR EFFORTS TO PROCEED ALONG PATH OF SADAT INITIATIVE.

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3. IN EARLY DISCUSSIONS WITH TOP SAUDI LEADERSHIP, YOU SHOULD MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS:

--WE WANT SAUDI LEADERSHIP TO FULLY UNDERSTAND OUR ASSESSMENT THAT THE PATH TOWARD PEACE CHOSEN BY SADAT REMAINS THE MOST PROMISING ONE FOR SUSTAINING THE MOMENTUM OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

--IN OUR VIEW, PRESENT INTENSE DEBATE WITHIN ISRAEL ON FUTURE OF WEST BANK AND GAZA IN ITSELF REPRESENTS A FORM OF CONTINUATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. SAUDIS ARE AWARE THAT FOR A DECADE THE GOI WAS ABLE TO REGARD FUTURE OF OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AS MORE A HYPOTHETICAL ISSUE THAN AN URGENT QUESTION TO BE RESOLVED IN ORDER TO GRASP A PRESENT OPPORTUNITY FOR LASTING PEACE. LARGELY BECAUSE OF THE IMPACT ON WORLD OPINION WHICH THE SADAT INITIATIVE HAS GENERATED AND NEED TO BEGIN TO MAKE CONCRETE DECISIONS, ISRAELIS ARE NOW IN PROCESS OF INTERNAL DEBATE RE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES WHICH HAS BY NO MEANS ENDED WITH DISAPPOINTING ISRAELI REPLIES TO OUR TWO QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS ON WEST BANK/GAZA AFTER FIVE-YEAR INTERIM PERIOD.

--(IN VIEW OF APPARENT CONFIDENTIALITY OFFAHD'SREMARKS TO YOU REPORTED JIDDA 4456, YOU MAY WISH TO SHARE THIS POINT ONLY WITH FAHD.) PRESIDENT HAS NOTED WITH GRATITUDE SAUDI EXPRESSION OF WILLINGNESS TO EXERT INFLUENCE WITH JORDAN, SYRIA, AND PALESTINIANS. WE CONTINUE TO SEE SAUDI ROLE IN THIS AS CRITICAL TO SUCCESS OF OUR COMMON OBJECTIVE OF REACHING A JUST AND LASTING

PEACE.

--WE HOPE SAUDIS WILL AGREE, HOWEVER, THAT PURSUING NEGOTIATING PROCESS ALONG LINES INDICATED BY SADAT'S INITIATIVE REMAINS THE MOST PROMISING PROSPECT FOR  
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PROGRESS AND WE WOULD HOPE THE SAUDI GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT TAKE ANY INITIATIVE WHICH MIGHT POSE OBSTACLES TO PROCEEDING ALONG THIS PATH.

--AS SAG RECALLS, ADMINISTRATION IN COURSE OF CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATIONS OF MIDDLE EAST AIRCRAFT SALES, STRESSED POINT THAT SAUDI ARABIA IS SUPPORTIVE OF SADAT'S EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACE AND THAT SALE OF AIRCRAFT TO SAUDI ARABIA AND EGYPT WOULD BE SUPPORTIVE OF THE PEACE PROCESS. WE HAVE INCREASINGLY BEGUN TO HEAR CONGRESSIONAL QUERIES ABOUT WHETHER AND WHEN SAUDI ARABIA WILL MOVE TO A CLEARER AND STRONGER POSTURE OF PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR SADAT'S INITIATIVE. WE BELIEVE SAUDI LEADERSHIP SHOULD BE AWARE OF THIS FACT, WHICH HIGHLIGHTS THE GENERAL PERCEPTION IN THE U.S. THAT THE PROSPECTS FOR EVENTUAL PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST WILL BE DETERMINED BY WHETHER THE MOMENTUM SADAT HAS CREATED CAN BE SUSTAINED.

--(YOU SHOULD NOT CONVEY FOLLOWING POINTS TO SAUDIS UNTIL CONFIRMATION IS RECEIVED FROM EILTS (SEE SEPTTEL) THAT EGYPTIANS HAVE NO OBJECTION TO OUR SHARING WITH SAUDIS THE NEXT STEPS WE ARE WORKING ON TO GET NEGOTIATING PROCESS MOVING.)

--WE WANT TO SHARE WITH SAG ON EXTREMELY CONFIDENTIAL BASIS THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION ABOUT OUR PRESENT THINKING ON HOW TO GET PEACE PROCESS MOVING. WE ARE ALSO CONVEYING FOLLOWING IN CONFIDENCE TO KING HUSSEIN.

--WE ARE DISCUSSING WITH THE EGYPTIANS AND ISRAELIS THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR SENDING FOREIGN MINISTERS DAYAN AND KAMEL TO LONDON FOR TWO DAYS OF MEETINGS WITH SECRETARY VANCE PRESENT AFTER EUROPEAN SUMMIT--PROBABLY  
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ABOUT JULY 18. THE INITIATIVE FOR THIS MEETING WILL COME FROM PRESIDENT CARTER, AND NOT FROM ISRAEL OR EGYPT. DESPITE PREMATURE PUBLICITY, NOTHING HAS BEEN FINALLY WORKED OUT AND, ASSUMING TALKS DO TAKE PLACE, WE WOULD NOT EXPECT ANY OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT FOR NEXT TEN DAYS OR SO. WE MUST ASK SAUDIS TO HOLD THIS INFORMATION CLOSELY IN MEANTIME, BUT WE WANT THEM TO KNOW THAT WE HAVE STRATEGY IN MIND INVOLVING ACTIVE U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN EFFORT TO MOVE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD

AND TO SEEK THEIR SUPPORT.

--AS SAUDIS KNOW, WE HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED NO PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE IN THE ABSENCE OF ACTIVE AND ON-GOING NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES. MEETING OF EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD BE A NEW STEP IN THIS DIRECTION. U.S. WANTS TO HELP THE PARTIES TO NARROW THE DIFFERENCES SEPARATING THEM IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON A FRAMEWORK OF PRINCIPLES FOR A COMPREHENSIVE ARAB-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT, BUT OUR EFFORTS CAN BE MOST EFFECTIVE ONLY WHEN PARTIES ARE NEGOTIATING WITH EACH OTHER. AS WE MOVE FORWARD OVER THE WEEKS AHEAD, IT IS IMPORTANT TO HAVE FULL SUPPORT OF U.S. OPINION, WHERE PERCEPTION IS WIDESPREAD THAT PRESENT IMPASSE RESULTS AT LEAST IN PART FROM FACT DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED SINCE PRESIDENT SADAT WITHDREW HIS DELEGATION FROM JERUSALEM POLITICAL COMMITTEE TALKS. FOR U.S. TO BE ACTIVE IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE NO NEGOTIATIONS WERE GOING ON WOULD BE PERCEIVED AS PREEMPTING POSITIONS OF THE PARTIES THEMSELVES.

--WE WOULD NOT EXPECT LONDON TALKS IN THEMSELVES TO BRING ANY DRAMATIC BREAKTHROUGHS, BUT THEY COULD BE USEFUL IN PROBING POSITIONS AND PROPOSALS OF BOTH SIDES, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO PRINCIPLES GOVERNING AN ULTIMATE SETTLEMENT OF WEST BANK/GAZA QUESTION, AND PREPARING GROUND

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FOR WHAT WE SEE AS CONTINUING PROCESS WHICH COULD INCLUDE SUBSEQUENT VISIT OF SECRETARY VANCE TO AREA AND CONSULTATION WITH PARTIES ABOUT U.S. IDEAS WHICH COULD HELP BRIDGE GAPS. SECRETARY WOULD OF COURSE LOOK FORWARD TO OPPORTUNITY ON ANY SUCH TRIP FOR PERSONAL TALKS WITH SAUDI LEADERS.

--MEANWHILE, WE CONSIDER IT ESSENTIAL THAT OUR FRIENDS  
AMONG MODERATE FORCES IN THE ARAB WORLD NOT RUSH TO  
JUDGMENT PREMATURELY AND INSTEAD GIVE US A FULL  
OPPORTUNITY TO CARRY OUT THE MORE ACTIVE U.S. ROLE WE  
ENVISAGE.

--IT IS IMPORTANT THAT OUR SAUDI AND JORDANIAN FRIENDS  
IN PARTICULAR NOT JOIN WITH OTHERS IN THE ARAB WORLD  
WHO WILL BE CRITICIZING SADAT FOR EGYPTIAN PARTICIPATION  
IN THE LONDON TALKS. CRITICISM OF SADAT WILL IN TURN  
TEND TO UNDERMINE THE VOICES OF REASON AND MODERATION  
ELSEWHERE IN THE ARAB WORLD, AND THUS THE POSITION OF  
SAUDI ARABIA AND OTHER MODERATE STATES THEMSELVES.

--WE WOULD HOPE THAT SAUDIS, IN THEIR CONTACTS WITH  
JORDANIANS, COULD ENCOURAGE THEM ALONG FOREGOING LINES  
AS WE OURSELVES ARE DOING. VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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